

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 CAPE T 00001 111424Z

46

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05 OMB-01 /080 W

----- 000539

R 101600Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4305

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CINCLANT FOR POLAD

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF SECTION 2 CAPE TOWN 0031

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SF

SUBJECT: ANOTHER LOOK AT CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGUESE SOUTHERN
AFRICAN TERRITORIES AND IN RHODESIA, SOUTH AFRICA'S SENSIBLE
APPROACH TO THOSE DEVELOPMENTS, AND CERTAIN PRONOUNCEMENTS
BY SOME SAG LEADERS APPARENTLY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO WHAT THE
EMBASSY REGARDS AS UNWARRANTED ASSUMPTIONS THAT SIGNIFICANT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 CAPE T 00001 111424Z

IMPROVEMENTS IN RACE RELATIONS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA ARE

IMMINENT. IN FACT, HOWEVER, THE DEPLORABLE STATUS OF SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS HAS REMAINED VIRTUALLY UNCHANGED AND INDICATIONS ARE THAT WHATEVER CHANGES VORSTER GOVERNMENT PERMITS TO EVOLVE OR INSTITUTES ITSELF ARE LIKELY TO BE VERY MINOR IN RELATION TO HOPES AND DEMANDS OF BLACKS HERE AND OF GGNB# CRITICS OF APARTHEID. THE FORMIDABLE OBSTACLES TO CHANGE ARE ERODING, BUT ONLY VERY GRADUALLY. SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN MULTIRATETNTIES # IN ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, AND RHODESIA SHOULD AFFECT THE FUTURE PACE AND EXTENT OF CHANGES IN RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA. USG POLICIES REGARDING THOSE THREE COUNTRIES SHOULD TAKE THIS INTO ACCOUNT. END SUMMARY.

2. THE EMBASSY HAS OBSERVED WITH SOME APPREHENSION INDICATIONS OF INFLATED EXPECTATIONS OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA THAT MAJOR CHANGES IN RACE RELATIONS ARE IN THE OFFING IN THIS COUNTRY. APPARENTLY, RECENT MODERATE-SOUNDING SPEECHES BY SOUTH AFRICA'S PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, FOREIGN MINISTER MULLER, AND UN AMBASSADOR BOTHA HAVE BEEN TAKEN AT FACE VALUE, OR REPEATED IN NEWS MEDIA IN WHOLE OR IN PART WITHOUT COMMENT. ONE EXAMPLE OF THIS RECENTLY OCCURRED WHEN VOICE OF AMERICA REPORTED DECEMBER 23 THAT "SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER HILGARD MULLER HAS PROMISED A CAMPAIGN TO END RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN HIS COUNTRY AND URGED THE UNITED NATIONS TO STOP INTERFERING IN THE REGION'S PROBLEMS."

3. PRIME MINISTER VORSTER HAS CATEGORICALLY DENIED THAT IN HIS SPEECHES HE HAD FORECAST ANY DRAMATIC CHANGES IN RACE RELATIONS. HE HAS DECLARED THAT WHITES WILL CONTINUE TO RULE SOUTH AFRICA AND THAT SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT REMAINS BEDROCK OF SAG'S DOMESTIC RACIAL POLICY. BUT THESE STATEMENTS HAVE RECEIVED LITTLE ATTENTION FROM FOREIGN NEWS MEDIA. IN CONSIDERING OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA, WE SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT FLEXIBILITY AND RESTRAINT VORSTER HAS EXHIBITED IN HIS FOREIGN POLICY IN PAST SEVERAL MONTHS HAVE NOT BEEN DUPLICATED IN HIS APPROACH TO DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. FOR THE PRESENT, IN SOUTH AFRICA POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL RESISTANCE TO CHANGE CONTINUES, IN OUR VIEW, TO OUTWEIGH ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL FORCES FAVORING SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN SAG'S RACIAL POLICIES AND PRACTICES.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 CAPE T 00001 111424Z

4. GOAL OF SOUTH AFRICA'S RULING ESTABLISHMENT CONTINUES TO BE MAINTENANCE OF WHITE SUPREMACY, NOT ELEVATION OF STATUS OF DISPOSSESSED BLACK MAJORITY. THE WELTANSHAUUNG OF MEN LIKE VORSTER AND HIS HEIR APPARENT, DR. CONNIE MULDER, CANNOT CONCEIVE OF EQUALITY FOR BLACKS AND WILL NOT PERMIT MUCH DEVIATION FROM FUNDAMENTAL THESIS OF NATIONAL PARTY THAT RACES MUST BE KEPT APART INsofar AS IS POSSIBLE.

FURTHERMORE, EVEN TO EXTENT THAT VORSTER IS, FOR PRAGMATIC REASONS, WILLING TO MODIFY APARTHEID SLIGHTLY TO REDUCE RACIAL TENSIONS AND IMPROVE LIVING CONDITIONS OF BLACKS, HE IS GREATLY INHIBITED BY DETERMINED OPPOSITION OF RIGHT-WIND NATIONALISTS TO ANY AND ALL CHANGES IN RACE RELATIONS. (FOR A FULLER EXPOSITION ON FACTORS FOR AND AGAINST CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA, SEE, PARTICULARLY, CAPE TOWN A-1, JANUARY 18, 1973 AND CAPE TOWN A-98, OCTOBER 8, 1974.)

5. IN TIME THE BALANCE OF POLITICAL POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL SHIFT, BUT, BARRING INCREASED OUTSIDE INTERVENTION, SIGNIFICANT INTERNAL CHANGES IN STATUS OF RACE RELATIONS IN THIS COUNTRY ARE GOING TO CONTINUE TO COME EXTREMELY SLOWLY. WE HARPED ON THIS THEME FOR MANY MONTHS, BUT IN VIEW OF AN APPARENT INCREASE IN MISPLACED OPTIMISM FROM VARIOUS QUARTERS REGARDING CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD ONCE AGAIN SOUND A CAUTIONARY NOTE.

6. IT MAY BE TRUE THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN ATTITUDINAL CHANGE TOWARD RACIAL MATTERS BY A GROWING NUMBER OF FIFTEEN # BUT THESE MODERATES REPRESENT ONLY A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL WHITE POPULATION. AS FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S RHETORIC OF CHANGE, THE FINE-SOUNDING PHRASES HAVE SIGNIFIED LITTLE IF ANY REAL PROGRESS. WE MUST EMPHASIZE THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO FUNDAMENTAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL STATUS OF SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS. APPALLING DEGRADATION AND MISERY THAT APARTHEID INFLECTS ON BLACKS CONTINUE UNABATED.

7. RACIAL SITUATION WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA CANNOT BE DIVORCED FROM FUTURE POLITICAL STABILITY OR INSTABILITY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AS A WHOLE. VORSTER MAY BELIEVE THAT IF ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS TO THE RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN PROBLEMS ARE FOUND, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 CAPE T 00001 111424Z

BLACK AFRICAN STATES WILL BECOME LESS SINGLE-MINDED ABOUT APARTHEID AND WILL DIMINISH THEIR PRESSURES AGAINST WHITE RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA. HOWEVER, EVEN IF THIS IS TO SOME EXTENT TRUE, WE CANNOT DISMISS STRENGTH OF EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT OF SOME AFRICAN LEADERS ON ISSUE OF APARTHEID AND THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF JUSTICE AND EQUALITY FOR BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

8. FOR TACTICAL REASONS, THESE BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS APPARENTLY PREFER TO DEAL WITH THE REMAINING PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA IN A BASICALLY SEQUENTIAL MANNER; FIRST RHODESIA, THEN NAMIBIA, THEN SOUTH AFRICA. RELATED TO THIS, THERE SEEMS TO BE A KIND OF CONSENSUS DEVELOPING. IT IS STATED BY VORSTER, ECHOED BY CERTAIN SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS, SUCH AS GATSHA BUTHELEZI, WHISPERED BY ZAMBIA, AND POSSIBLY

ACCEPTED BY SOME OTHER BLACK AFRICANS AND THE WEST: "GIVE SOUTH AFRICA MORE TIME TO PUT ITS OWN HOUSE IN ORDER."

9. THERE IS, HOWEVER, IMPLICIT IN THIS CONSENSUS A DEFINITIONAL PROBLEM. WHAT BLACK AFRICA AND WEST SEEK, BY GIVING ADDITIONAL TIME TO SOUTH AFRICA TO SETTLE ITS OWN AFFAIRS, IS RADICALLY DIFFERENT THAN WHAT MR. VORSTER AND HIS GOVERNMENT INTEND TO USE THAT TIME FOR. VORSTER IS INTENT NOT ON RADICALLY ALTERING HIS GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES, BUT ON PROMOTING BETTER IMPLEMENTATION OF THEM.

NOTE BY OC/T: #AS RECEIVED

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, POLITICAL SITUATION, LIVING CONDITIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975CAPET00001
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750012-0130
From: CAPE TOWN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750163/aaaacdek.tel
Line Count: 181
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 13 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 MAY 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <14 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ANOTHER LOOK AT CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SF
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006